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## THE PRUSSIAN ARCHIVES.

### I.

THE record offices or depositories of archives in Prussia, as in other countries, are central and local. The central office is located at Berlin, the local offices are in the cities. Of the provinces each, with the exception of Brandenburg, has one or more of these depositories. Brandenburg has none, because its records have always formed a part of the collection belonging to the Prussian state. Since the beginning of the present century the collections in all the provinces have been brought under the control of the central bureau, and thus, from an administrative point of view, they form a part of the national archives. This course has not been followed in the case of the cities.

For centuries the memorials and documents belonging to the Margraves of Brandenburg were moved from place to place as the residence of the prince changed. In the time of the first Hohenzollern it is probable that they were deposited at Tangermünde. During the fifteenth century they were brought to the city of Brandenburg, and finally, after the collection had increased considerably in amount and value, they found a permanent abiding place at the capital of the principality on the Spree. The margraves of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries took an increasing interest in the collection. Joachim II began special efforts to enrich it. In the last year of the sixteenth century Erasmus Langenhain was appointed to take charge of it, and from that time it received something like systematic administration. The Great Elector devoted much personal attention to its development, and since 1700 the central administrative bureaus have, with the exception of the *General-Directorium* created by Frederick William I, regularly deposited their papers in the archives of the state. Frederick William I provided rooms where the archives were preserved until they were removed to the old electoral palace in *Klosterstrasse*, where they are now kept.

Till the *General-Directorium* was abolished in 1808, its papers — which concerned administration in the departments of war, finance and public domains — were kept apart from the regular state collection (*Geheime-Staats-Archiv*). The latter then included the documents which related to the history of the royal house, matters which were discussed or decided in the privy council of the king, royal ordinances, and papers relating to foreign affairs and to the administration of justice. Here also were the documents relating to the general ecclesiastical history of the country. As soon as the old *Directorium* was abolished it was proposed to unite the two collections, but instead the papers of the defunct body were transferred to the ministry of finance. In its care they remained until the beginning of 1874, when they were added to the state collection proper, and the Prussian Archives assumed its existing form. Its treasures are being constantly increased by transfers from all the departments of the central government and from the provinces. The most serious losses which it has suffered during this century have come from the formation of a separate collection in the royal palace, and the transfer of about four hundred early documents to the provincial towns whence they had come.

In the provinces, with a very few exceptions, no attention was paid to the preservation of documents till after the beginning of this century. They existed, to be sure, in out-of-the-way places, and those which were needed for practical purposes were used by officials, but no effort was made to arrange or preserve them. After the close of the Napoleonic wars officials both of the central and the local governments began to turn their attention to the masses of documents in existence concerning the history of mediaeval and early modern society in all its phases. The German historical school was already in existence and it directed attention to these things. The growth of interest in the subject was moreover a result of the quickening national life. Any country where this is vigorous will take care of its memorials. In the history of Prussia those rulers and statesmen who have been most animated by the

national spirit have done most for the preservation of its archives. Prince Hardenberg furnishes an illustration of this. When the office of chancellor was created in 1810 and he became its incumbent, he assumed charge of the archives. Under his lead, after the war had closed, the work of collecting documents was prosecuted. In 1820 he caused an ordinance to be issued for the formation of archives in the provinces which then existed. Two years later a directory was formed to which was given control of all the archives in the country, save those in the possession of individuals or corporations. Under this arrangement the collections in the provinces began to feel the stimulating influence of the central office at Berlin. After Hardenberg's death the control of the archives passed to the ministry of foreign affairs. With that it remained till 1852, when the minister-president was given control, provision being at the same time made for a director of the archives, who should have immediate charge of the work. Since 1866 the system of administration has been extended to the provinces gained in that year.

At present, then, there are in Prussia seventeen public record offices. The work done in these is under the charge of sixty-two trained officials, who have obtained their scientific equipment in the historical, philological and juristic *seminaria* of the universities. Appointments are not made upon examination, but appointees are subjected to a probationary test of three months. The result has been to bring into the service a corps of men eminently qualified to perform the duties required. The amount appropriated yearly by the Prussian government for the care of the archives is 350,000 marks—a sum inadequate for the purpose. Attempts have been made to secure an increase of the grant, but hitherto without success. The fact, however, that the archives are annually used by no less than 1200 men engaged in scientific research, testifies to their value and to the success of the system upon which they are administered.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For these and other facts the writer is indebted to Dr. H. von Sybel, the director of the archives, and to his assistants. They have with great kindness furnished the information requested.

Previous to 1875, the date when Dr. von Sybel was placed in charge of the archives, but little of their contents had been published, and that little consisted for the most part of documents bearing on the history of the mediaeval emperors. But the government had already become convinced of the advantages which would come to the nation and to the world by making its collections more accessible. In this way not only would science be advanced, but the reputation of Prussia would be increased through the opportunity for a deeper and more widely extended knowledge of her history. Therefore, under the influence of Prince Bismarck, an increased appropriation was obtained<sup>1</sup> to enable the newly appointed director to carry out his plan. The coöperation of specialists from all parts of the kingdom was secured and soon the preparation of several works was in progress.

Though the archives of Prussia were found to be full of valuable material, searches were not confined to them, but were extended to local and foreign collections. The plan included the publication of materials on mediaeval as well as modern history, on the history of Germany as well as that of Prussia, and also on separate territories and provinces. It was laid down as a general rule that the earlier texts should be printed in full, but that only extracts should be given of later repetitions or confirmations of such documents. In modern times the mass of letters and other materials has become so great as to make a complete reproduction impossible. Therefore it has been found necessary to enforce the rule of careful selection with increased strictness. But in this, as in everything else which pertains to the scientific execution of the work, it has been found necessary to rely largely upon the judgment of the individual editors. Each of the volumes issued contains an introduction, stating with more or less fulness the character and location of the manuscript sources whence its contents have been obtained, and the principles by which the editor has been guided in preparing the texts for publication. In most cases the introduction is expanded

<sup>1</sup> See statement at beginning of Volume I of the Publications.

into an historical outline of the subject treated in the volume, the material for this being drawn mainly, though not exclusively, from the texts themselves. In a few cases the historical introduction has been so extended that it has come to occupy the leading place. Thus the work becomes substantially a history with illustrative documents. Each separate text is furnished with a brief caption stating its subject matter. All are carefully numbered and dated. It will thus be seen that greater freedom of action is allowed the editors than in the English Record Office. The reason for this probably is that the work of editing the Prussian publications is largely done by specialists, not by officials. In England this is true of the *Chronicles and Memorials*, but not of the *Calendars* and other publications. The plan employed in Prussia is, we are told, in part an imitation of that pursued by the Historical Commission of Munich.

The *Publications from the Prussian Archives*, so far as issued, fill forty-nine large octavo volumes. They throw light on all periods of the country's history, and upon the history of nearly all the principalities which have been annexed to Brandenburg and which go to make up the modern Prussian state. In the east Prussia, Silesia, Grosspolen (Posen) receive attention. In the west much space is devoted to the history of Cleves and the principalities connected with it, to Westphalia (especially the city of Münster), to Hanover and to Hesse. Coming nearer to the center of power, the *Urkundenbuch* of the bishopric of Halberstadt is printed in this series, while some of the more general works have to do with Prussian history as a whole, either at certain periods or in some of its important aspects. Of the documents printed in the series by far the larger part lie between the dates 1400 and 1700; they contain materials for the history of central Europe at the close of the middle age and during the two centuries when the religious question was uppermost. In a few of the works are documents of an earlier date, in others matter bearing on Prussian history in the present century is found. From the period specially covered it follows that not a little of the material contained in the volumes is

ecclesiastical or semi-ecclesiastical in character. For the purpose of briefly reviewing the contents of the series, it may be well to subdivide it into three parts: (1) that which deals exclusively with mediæval history; (2) that which concerns the period of the Reformation (1500–1648); (3) the volumes which throw light on the more recent history of Prussia.

## II.

Of the works bearing on the middle age<sup>1</sup> all except one are collections of the characteristic mediæval documents — the *Urkunden*. By this word, as used by specialists,<sup>2</sup> is meant any written evidence of a legal transaction, or documents leading directly to or proceeding directly from such juristic acts. If issued by emperors, kings or popes, they are known as public *Urkunden*; when proceeding from any other source they are treated as private. Under this classification nearly all the documents in these volumes are private *Urkunden*. The Polish *Grodbücher* contain the records of the cases brought for trial before the *judicia castrensia* (*grod* = *castrum*), or lower courts, which during the middle age were held in the castles and were presided over by a dignitary or noble of the locality. Each court had originally jurisdiction within its district over cases of housebreaking, of assault committed on the persons of women, of arson and of breaches of the peace on the king's highways. As time went on their jurisdiction was extended so as to cover a great variety of civil suits brought by peasants against the

<sup>1</sup> The works comprised in the first group are as follows :

J. von Leckszycski, *Die Aeltesten Grosspolnischen Grodbücher*. 2 vols. (Nos. xxxi and xxxviii of the series.)

Arthur Wyss und Heinrich Reimer, *Hessisches Urkundenbuch*. 3 vols. (Nos. iii, xix and xlviii of the series.)

Dr. Gustav Schmidt, *Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Halberstadt und seiner Bischöfe*. 4 vols. (Nos. xvii, xxi, xxvii and xl of the series.)

Dr. C. Grünhagen und Dr. H. Markgraf, *Lehens- und Besitzurkunden Schlesiens und seiner Einzelnen Fürstenthümer im Mittelalter*. 2 vols. (Nos. vii and xvi of the series.)

Dr. Joseph Hansen, *Westfalen und Rheinland im 15. Jahrhundert*: Erster Band, *Die Soester Fehde*; Zweiter Band, *Die Münsterische Stiftsfehde*. (Nos. xxxiv and xlii of the series.)

<sup>2</sup> H. Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre*, vol. i, and references.

nobles, and suits arising out of commercial transactions. Thus they took their place as the lowest among the royal courts, with the right to hear both civil and criminal cases. The records of the courts within the districts of Posen, Peisern, Gnesen and Kosten for the last decade of the fourteenth century are here printed in full, and judging from the character and amount of the business done, they must throw much light on the social conditions of the times.

The *Urkundenbücher* of Hesse and Halberstadt contain a greater variety of documents. In the former the materials relate to the history of the commandery of the Teutonic Order in Hesse during the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century, and to the origin of the province of Hanau. In 1207 the Count of Ziegenhain granted a church at Reichenbach to the Teutonic Order. In 1221 the Emperor Frederick II took the order under his special protection. Then gifts began to pour in upon it from the ecclesiastics and nobles of central and western Germany, particularly from the Landgraves of Thuringia. After the death of St. Elizabeth of Thuringia the order came into possession of the hospital which she had built at Marburg. Then they began to reap the full benefit of her saintly reputation, and under the favor of the popes and the nobles their wealth and influence grew apace. Before the close of the thirteenth century the commandery of Hesse had been formed, which in due time grew into the principality of that name. The growth of this territory, till the order which held it had firmly established itself in Prussia, may be traced in detail in these volumes. Here is the documentary evidence of the grants of land and of the great variety of rights, privileges and exemptions which went with it. Here are the gifts, sales, exchanges, releases of estates, and the repeated confirmations of such acts. We find evidence also of the favor of later emperors. In 1357 Charles IV took the hospital at Marburg under his protection and appointed the prior of the order at that place his chaplain. Repeatedly the popes encouraged gifts by the grant of indulgences.



In the four volumes on Halberstadt the history of that bishopric, and of the ecclesiastical corporations which it contained, can be traced from the founding of the see in the ninth century to 1425. The materials here are wider in scope than those relating to Hesse; for, in addition to property transactions and grants of favor, they have reference to the election of the archbishops, to their confirmation by the popes, to their election capitulations, to their disputes with neighboring princes, and in fact to the entire archiepiscopal policy on its secular side.

In general, what is done by the works just referred to for two of the smaller territories, is done for one of the largest, and for the principalities and counties into which it was divided, by the volumes on Silesia. These cover its history during the last two centuries of the middle age, after Poland had in 1335 abandoned all claim to it in favor of Bohemia. The documents bearing on the relations between it and the Bohemian crown, and on the connection with Hungary which was thereby occasioned, form the most important part of this collection.

The next two volumes are of quite a different nature. They introduce the reader to the conflicts among the principalities, and between those and the cities, in western Germany during the fifteenth century. They contain the documentary history, with elaborate introductions, of the feuds between the Archbishopric of Cologne on the one side, and the city of Soest and the Bishopric of Münster on the other, which occurred about the middle of the century. Soest was a member of the Hansa, and shared fully in the ambitions which were at this time so strong among the German city populations. She had long been trying to free herself from the jurisdiction of Cologne, but had not succeeded, when the ambitious Dietrich of Moers became archbishop. About 1435 questions began to arise concerning the right of the archbishop to hold courts (the *Freigerichte*) and levy taxes in Soest. This affected all his Westphalian possessions and a combination was formed against him. At the same time the archbishop was involved in a dis-

pute of long standing with the Duke of Cleves concerning the possession of the Duchy of Berg, together with other related questions. Cleves and Cologne were in fact rival principalities, the one secular, the other ecclesiastical, and each was striving after the leadership in northwestern Germany. Cologne, however, had much the larger possessions. The Duke of Cleves was related to Philip the Good of Burgundy, and both these princes for political reasons threw their influence on the side of Pope Eugenius IV in his struggle with the Council of Basel. The archbishop, on the other hand, was one of the leaders of the opposition in that council. It was natural that Soest, as soon as her controversy with Cologne became serious, should apply to Cleves for aid. She recognized the duke as her lord, and he in return contributed troops and supplies to the full extent of his powers. When the archbishop invoked the support of King Frederick III, the duke with the help of Burgundy called in the aid of the pope. Decrees were obtained deposing the archbishop and freeing Cleves from the jurisdiction of the see of Cologne. Cleves was even permitted for a time to have a separate bishopric. The archbishop immediately sought alliance with France, which was counted among the anti-pope's party at Basel, and through the aid of Saxony he called in a large force of Bohemian mercenaries who, since the close of the Hussite wars, were ready for any service in Germany. Thus the feud extended till it involved directly or indirectly many of the leading European powers. In the end the city of Soest was saved by the strength of its walls and the resources of its allies. Though on the accession of Nicholas V the decrees of his predecessor against the Archbishop of Cologne were reversed, the latter had to consent to negotiations which left Soest in the possession of Cleves, though the latter was not freed from the archiepiscopal jurisdiction (1449). This holds a prominent place among the triumphs won at this time by the cities over the princes.

But the policy of Cologne in Westphalia was not changed, and after a brief cessation the feud was resumed under a modified form. This time it began in a dispute over the

succession to the see of Münster (1450). Its last incumbent was a brother of Dietrich of Cologne, and now under the influence of the latter the cathedral chapter chose a second brother to succeed. This was opposed by the people of Münster and of many parts of the bishopric, who had been sympathizers with Soest. Count John of Hoya put himself at the head of this party, and from his family the opposition candidate was selected. The Duke of Cleves at once gave him his support, and the controversy extended much as in the previous case. But the chief interest in this struggle attaches to the career of John of Hoya. He played the demagogue with such success as to gain the full confidence of the populace of the city. But after the feud had been in progress awhile, trade began to suffer and it was seen that the bishopric was becoming the sport of neighboring princes. The supporters of Hoya then began to divide, and a conservative faction among them sought compromise and peace. Hoya thereupon instituted a democratic revolution in the city and became its tyrant. All who opposed his sway were driven out. This shows the excitability of the populace there nearly a century before they were bewitched by the Anabaptists. The Hansa now condemned the revolutionary proceedings, the Duke of Cleves relaxed his efforts, and the forces of Münster were severely defeated in the field. The policy of John of Hoya seemed likely to prove fatal to the cause, when the archbishop's candidate died, and an opportunity was thus presented for a settlement of the dispute by the election of a member of the Bavarian house to the see. The exiles were allowed to return, the revolutionists had to abandon their control, but the family of Dietrich of Moers never again held the influence in Westphalia which it had previously possessed. By wise and cautious policy Cleves had won the chief advantage from the feuds, and the power of Cologne began from this period to decline. These volumes enable one to see with great clearness how Cleves was situated and what her policy was just previous to the beginning of the Reformation.

## III.

Coming now to the works treating of the Reformation,<sup>1</sup> we find that the materials printed consist for the most part of private and diplomatic correspondence. The volumes on the history of the Reformation in Prussia form an exception to this. In these the documents are miscellaneous in character, and but comparatively few of them are printed in full. They are briefly referred to by title or outlined. But this is in part atoned for by the fulness of the introduction, which, based on the materials here brought together, occupies an entire volume. In it the author describes the social condition of Prussia as it was at the beginning of the sixteenth century, showing how a population mainly Slavic and Lithuanian in origin was governed by Germans organized into a semi-ecclesiastical corporation. The heavy taxes levied by the Teutonic Order provoked general opposition, which showed itself most acutely among the native nobles and burghers. A radical change in the political system had become necessary. The ideas then gaining a foothold throughout Europe were favorable to secularization, and Albert of Hohenzollern, the new Grand Master, accepted and applied them. The transformation of Prussia into an hereditary dukedom (1525) was agreeable to the wishes of the emperor, for he thought that thereby its connection with the empire would become closer. This was to be the result, but not in the way the emperor wished. Duke Albert had already been under the influence of Luther and at Nuremberg of Osiander. He had adopted the reformed

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Paul Tschackert, *Urkundenbuch zur Reformationsgeschichte des Herzogthums Preussens*. 3 vols. (Nos. xliii, xlv, xlv of the series.)

Max Lenz, *Briefwechsel Landgraf Philipp's des Grosmüthigen von Hessen mit Bucer*. 3 vols. (Nos. v, xxviii and xlvii of the series.)

Ludwig Keller, *Die Gegenreformation in Westfalen und am Niederrhein, 1555 bis 1609*. 2 vols. (Nos. ix and xxxiii of the series.)

Georg Irmer, *Die Verhandlungen Schwedens und seiner Verbündeten mit Walenstein und dem Kaiser von 1631 bis 1634*. 3 vols. (Nos. xxxv, xxxix and xli of the series.)

Dr. Otto Meinardus, *Protokolle und Relationen des Brandenburgischen Geheimen Rathes aus der Zeit des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm*. 1 vol. (No. xli of the series.)

opinions, and when he attempted to carry them into practice in Prussia, he met with little opposition. The hold of Catholicism on the people was weak. Some still adhered to their pagan faith. So backward was the country intellectually, that humanism had not struck root there. So different were the conditions from those which prevailed in the West-European states, that the country could be said to be only nominally Catholic. Therefore in 1523 Polnitz, the foremost bishop, resigned his secular power, and the reformed faith was established at Königsberg. Thence it spread rapidly, and by the time the Order was secularized, the Reformation had triumphed. Changes analogous in every way to those made in the churches of Electoral Saxony and Brandenburg were introduced. Lutheran preachers were sent into the principality, the university at Königsberg was founded. Thus the secular and the ecclesiastical revolution in Prussia went hand in hand. The history of the movement from the ecclesiastical standpoint is fully treated by the author till about the middle of the century, when the founders of the Prussian church were all removed by death.

While Albert of Hohenzollern and his supporters were laboring for the reformation of Prussia, Martin Bucer, the Strasburg preacher, was trying to smooth the differences between sects and thus to keep the peace in Germany. To this he devoted his life, whether on the continent or in England. Not only did he stand almost in the front rank among German Protestant theologians, but he also possessed a wide knowledge of men and affairs. He was in communication with the leaders of the time among all parties, and his sympathies were broad enough to enable him to understand their views. During the third and fourth decades of the century he corresponded more or less regularly with Philip, Landgrave of Hesse. The correspondence began when preparations were making for the conference at Marburg in 1629 over the differences which were causing strife between the Lutherans and Zwinglians. In this Bucer was greatly interested, though his policy of peace did not win a complete triumph till the issue of the Wittenberg Concordia in

1536. Later Philip summoned him to aid in checking the progress of the Anabaptist heresy in Hesse, and in this he was successful. Meantime Bucer's letters show that he was brooding over plans for bringing the Protestants of Germany, France and England into closer relations and for influencing the monarchs in their favor. He proposed the sending of Melanchthon to England and intervention on the part of the German princes to win Henry VIII over to Lutheranism. But the princes never found the plan feasible, though Bucer continued to urge it long after the divorce of Anne of Cleves.

The relations between Bucer and the landgrave were most intimate between the years 1539 and 1542. It was during this interval that Philip incurred the guilt of bigamy. All the Protestant leaders were greatly disturbed by this, and it was only through the help of Bucer that they were brought to countenance the relation between Philip and his so-called second wife. For nearly two years also the landgrave was working hard to bring about a union of the German princes, both Catholic and Protestant, against the emperor, and in the interest of the "liberty" of the estates. The most important of these negotiations were carried on with the Duke of Bavaria, and with the plan was involved that of saving Cleves and Guelders from falling into the emperor's power. If the scheme should succeed, it was hoped that the Protestants would secure their freedom, and the constitution of the church be reformed. Bucer came forward with a plan to secure this and urged the coöperation of Catholics and Protestants against a national peril. When the plan failed through the inactivity of the estates, the landgrave at once made overtures of peace to the emperor. To prevent Philip from allying himself with the French, Charles V through Granvella encouraged these advances. In the following negotiations Bucer was very prominent, and they prepared the way for the great theological debate before the emperor at the diet of Regensburg, 1541. Bucer bore a leading part in this debate, hoping to secure a national council and ultimate agreement as to essentials between the contending parties. But the Protestants were no more successful in their efforts to bring

the emperor to satisfactory terms than they had been in trying to unite the estates in opposition to him.

The acts of this diet are printed in these volumes, together with the correspondence of the parties engaged in the negotiations which preceded it. The correspondence as printed continues till 1547, and touches, among other things, on Bucer's residence at Cologne at the time Hermann of Wied was attempting the reformation of the archbishopric, on the feud between the Protestants and Duke Henry of Brunswick, on the condition of parties just before the outbreak of the religious war.

The last work in the series the contents of which directly concern the Reformation is Ludwig Keller's *Gegenreformation in Westfalen und am Niederrhein*. This contains documents, with the usual explanatory chapters, illustrating the efforts of the clergy and the Catholic powers, especially the Spanish, operating from the Netherlands, to suppress the Reformation in Cleve-Mark and Jülich-Berg and in the bishoprics of Münster and Paderborn. Here we have still another chapter in the history of that much-agitated middle region, adjoining the hereditary Burgundian territories and encircled by the great ecclesiastical principalities of the West. When the Religious Peace was concluded, not only the Augsburg Confession, but also the Reformed faith and the Anabaptist heresy, had gained a firm foothold among its populations, and their power of resistance, moreover, was increased by the large number of their co-religionists who fled thither from the Netherlands. The Calvinists and Anabaptists were not protected by the Peace. After the diet of Augsburg, in 1566, the aid of the Spanish under Alva and his successors was invoked, Duke William of Cleves and his sons were converted from their liberal (Erasmian) opinions and practices to Catholicism, a papal nuncio was sent to Düsseldorf, and efforts were everywhere made to discourage or suppress Protestant worship. A marriage was concluded between John William, the second son, and a princess of the house of Bavaria. That power then took a leading part in promoting the Catholic cause in Cleves. But the daughters of the old

duke could not be induced to abandon their Protestant faith, and one of them, Maria Eleonora, in order that she might be removed as far as possible from the court, was married to the Duke of Prussia. This proved in the end a fatal step for the Catholics, for from it originated the claim of the Hohenzollerns to the united duchies of Cleves and Jülich-Berg, together the strongest principality in northwestern Germany. Soon after his marriage John William was associated with his father in the government. Then (1583) the work of restoring Catholicism began in earnest. But such was the opposition and the anxiety caused thereby, that before ten years had passed the young duke became insane. A dispute arose in consequence over the rights of his wife, the Bavarian princess, as regent. This divided the Catholic forces and opened up the prospect of the Hohenzollern succession. The council of the duchy, which was Catholic, obtained the support of the Spanish and of the emperor, and thus was able successfully to resist all the efforts of the Protestants. The princess was excluded from the government and, it was thought, murdered; Spanish troops were introduced from the Netherlands, and the religious privileges which the cities had so jealously guarded were violated with a high hand. Still, in spite of all efforts the Catholics were only partially successful. The mad duke was married a second time, and disputes similar to those which had arisen before were repeated. Thus the confusion and conflict of parties continued till the death of John William in 1609. Then the Hohenzollerns took possession as joint rulers with the Palsgrave of Neuburg, and the ultimate triumph of Protestantism in the principalities seemed assured. In Münster and Paderborn, because they were ecclesiastical principalities and the Jesuits were admitted to special influence, the movement toward Catholic restoration was more successful than in Cleves.

The volumes treating of Gustavus Adolphus and Wallenstein have an interest more directly political than the preceding works on the period of the Reformation. The career of Wallenstein and diplomatic relations during the critical period of the Thirty Years' War have long been a favorite subject for



investigation. The editor in his introduction briefly reviews the method of treatment to which the character of the great imperialist general has been subjected. He shows that the historians who preceded Ranke were either his uncompromising defenders or opponents. They either accepted *in toto* the statements of Rašin, the Bohemian diplomatist who had stood high in the confidence of Wallenstein and who sold his information to the emperor, or they sought wholly to discredit his account. To those who pursued the former course the general seemed a traitor from the outset. Ranke was the first to treat the subject objectively and to subject to criticism all the materials known in his time. He refused to adopt either the imperialist or the Bohemian standpoint. The result was the picture of a man who at first, with the help of the Swedish king, tried to make for himself an independent place in Germany, and who, after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, labored to counteract the clerical and Spanish influence in German politics, and sought, with the aid of Electoral Saxony and Brandenburg, to establish a freer and more independent system.

This view the editor accepts. He believes that the documents previously published and those contained in his own volumes go to substantiate it, though he admits that so much still remains undiscovered, especially private papers, that points in the career of Wallenstein will long be subjects of dispute. He himself has searched widely among the archives of the states of northern Europe which were engaged in the conflict, while Gindely and others have devoted themselves more especially to Spanish and Italian authorities. The most important new material printed in these volumes was discovered in Hanover and Sweden. It consists of the diary and a part of the correspondence of Lawrence Nicolai, a Swedish diplomatist who came with Gustavus Adolphus to Germany and resided at Dresden till the autumn of 1633, and of the correspondence between Chancellor Oxenstiern and Bernhard of Weimar during parts of 1633 and 1634. The papers of Nicolai throw much light on the negotiations between Wallenstein and the Protestants during the year following the battle of

Lützen. The correspondence between Maximilian of Bavaria and Richel, his vice-chancellor resident in Vienna, and between the Austrian generals, Gallas, Piccolomini and the rest; some papers of Arnim, the Saxon diplomatist, and of Alex. Erskine, the Swedish resident at Erfurt; letters of Kinsky, and of Ilow and other officers who confederated at Pilsen in January, 1634, to support Wallenstein — contribute largely to our knowledge of the events which immediately preceded his final removal and assassination. The work closes with a reprint of testimony taken at the trial of the supporters and accomplices of the general.

The opinion expressed by the editor in his exceedingly well written introduction, wherein he has drawn upon the entire Wallenstein literature, is that previous to his first removal from command in 1630 the duke had no thought of treason. That was the turning point in his career. Then correspondence was opened between him and the Swedish king, but the victory of the Swedes at Breitenfeld rendered the aid which Wallenstein had already promised unnecessary, and negotiation ceased. After Lützen his main effort, as revealed by his occasional utterances, was to secure peace for Germany. Spain, the pope and Bavaria were recognized by him as the great obstacles in his way, and the hope which he seems to have cherished, of overcoming these without making the emperor his enemy, was vain. However, with the Protestant powers behind him he hoped, if it came to the worst, to coerce the emperor. But the confidence of these powers he was never able fully to gain. Arnim's trust in him was rudely shaken by his apparently inconsistent conduct in 1633. Wallenstein himself distrusted Arnim, while to him the Swedes, like the French, were only foreigners. Throughout his intrigues the duke took a deep interest in the plans of the Bohemian exiles for restoration to their country. They wanted to make him king, but it does not appear that the crown they had to offer had great attractions for him. The acceptance of it would have tended to defeat his larger plan. From the papers of the Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg and of the Polish officer Schlieff, light is thrown on the efforts

of Wallenstein to obtain help and to guard against attack during the last days of his life. But they were vain. He had attempted too much and had lost the confidence of all except a few officers and soldiers. When Bernhard of Weimar was asked for aid, he refused to believe that the duke had broken with the emperor, though the order for his arrest had already been issued.

If this view of Wallenstein's character be the true one, it was his assassination which removed the last obstacle to the continuance of the war. After that it must be prolonged till sheer exhaustion brought it to an end.

Dr. Meinardus in his work on the Brandenburg privy council, the first volume only of which has been issued, introduces the reader to another phase of German history during the Thirty Years' War. He proposes to print the minutes, reports and resolutions of the privy council during the years 1640 to 1688. The part now published extends to April, 1643, covering the last year of the life of George William and the beginning of the reign of the Great Elector. Brandenburg had been suffering from the policy of violent opposition to the Swedes which had followed the conclusion of the Peace of Prague. In that treaty she had followed the lead of Electoral Saxony and hoped thereby to rescue Pomerania from the bonds of the northern invaders. But in opposition to the desire of his council the elector declared the Swedes enemies, and at once Brandenburg was overrun by their troops. For years she suffered from their devastations, the elector being forced to take refuge in Prussia, and the defence of the electorate being intrusted to the favorite, Prince Schwarzenberg. Never, not even in the time of Napoleon, did the country suffer as it did then. But the important thing to notice here is that during these years the privy council was dissolved, its members were dismissed, and the government was conducted exclusively by the elector and Schwarzenberg. The latter, though a statesman of considerable ability and pursuing an intelligible policy, used his position for his own enrichment, and, with his master, set at defiance the wishes of all classes of the subjects. But when Frederick William came to the throne, a change of policy at once followed.

Schwarzenberg, though preparing to yield to the changes, was soon removed out of the young elector's way by death. As soon as possible military operations were brought to an end and negotiation, instead of war, was tried. The privy council was restored, and the men who were driven from power five years before were brought back. It was the policy of the Great Elector thenceforward regularly to consult his council, though he reserved to himself the right of independent decision. This was in no case allowed to the lieutenant of the elector in the latter's absence. The jurisdiction of the privy council extended to matters of internal administration, such as justice, the domains and ecclesiastical affairs, its scope depending largely upon the instructions of the elector. By 1642 the number of its members had been increased to eleven, and at their meetings votes might be reached either with or without debate. The influence of the council was sometimes merely formal, but usually it was real and actual. A certain degree of separation was maintained between the business of Prussia, that of the Mark and that of Cleves, the three components of the Hohenzollern possessions.

#### IV.

The works in this series which deal with more recent times fall naturally into two groups, the one bearing on the history of Hanover and Brunswick during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,<sup>1</sup> and the other treating of certain general phases of the history of the modern Prussian state.

The original material in the volumes on Hanover consists chiefly of the memoirs and correspondence of the Duchess Sophia, wife of Ernst August and mother of George I of

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Adolf Köcher, *Geschichte von Hannover und Braunschweig, 1648 bis 1714*. Erster Theil, 1648-1668. 1 vol. (No. xx of the series.)

Dr. Adolf Köcher, *Memoiren der Herzogin Sophie, nachmals Kurfürstin von Hannover*. Part of one vol. (No. iv of the series.)

Eduard Bodemann, *Briefwechsel der Herzogin Sophie von Hannover mit ihrem Bruder, dem Kurfürsten Karl Ludwig von der Pfalz, und des Letzteren mit seiner Schwägerin, der Pfalzgräfin Anna*. 1 vol. (No. xxvi of the series.)

Eduard Bodemann, *Briefe der Kurfürstin Sophie von Hannover an die Raugräfinnen und Raugrafen zu Pfalz*. 1 vol. (No. xxxvii of the series.)

England. They dwell on the private life of the duchess and on the family history of the German courts more than on the political events of the time. But they are, of course, an authority of the first importance for the history of the contract by which George William of Hanover signed away his territorial rights on behalf of the children of his younger brother and Sophia, thus bringing them ultimately into possession of the electorate. The correspondence of the Count Palatine Charles Louis with his sister-in-law reveals how the marriage between the count's daughter and the Duke of Orleans was brought about, which was an important step in the plan of Louis XIV for securing the Palatinate. In the letters of Charles Louis to his sister he dwells on the ravages committed by the French in the Palatinate during the war of 1672 to 1678. He was then able to see how little the forced conversion of his daughter to Catholicism, that she might obtain a lofty position at the French court, had availed him. The later correspondence of Sophia, then electress, with her nephew and niece of the Palatinate, contains the record of her feelings concerning the English succession as they developed from 1690 to her own death. In her youth she had been prominently mentioned among those upon whom the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II of England, might bestow his hand. Now, after the changes of half a century, the prospect was again presented to her of occupying the throne of that country. But even after the passage of the Act of Settlement in 1701 the opposition of Anne and the Tories to the Hanoverian succession made the outlook anything but encouraging. The wisdom of the electress is shown in her reserve. Her letters prove that, though she was the recognized heiress to the throne, she was content to let affairs take their course. She saw that it was better for her to remain in Germany than to visit England, that active urging of the Hanoverian claims could result in no advantage. In this course she persisted throughout, and hence the succession came peacefully, though she did not live to witness it. Both the correspondence and the memoirs based upon it show that Sophia of Hanover

was in her century one of the noblest representatives of German womanhood.

The group of works concerning Hanover will find their fitting culmination in the elaborate history of that principality by Dr. Köcher. He intends to cover in four volumes the period from the Peace of Westphalia to the accession of the Hanoverians to the English throne. Only the first volume has yet appeared, containing a minute review of the first two decades of the period. The material is drawn almost wholly from the archives and from published collections, and the text abounds in ample quotations from the original documents, while very important papers are printed in full. The aim of the author is to treat of the relations between Brunswick-Lüneburg and the neighboring states and principalities, rather than of its internal history. The material which he uses is for the most part new, and the work will fill a place left hitherto unoccupied. It supplements the well known histories of Prussia by enabling the student to view the events of the reign of the Great Elector from the standpoint of a rival principality. It carries one into the midst of the political relations of northwestern Germany. It shows how under a system of joint rule the heirs of the Brunswick estates learned to coöperate, and thus rose gradually from the condition of weakness in which they were left by the Thirty Years' War till they could bring into the field a well trained force of 30,000 men. The conversion of Duke John Frederick of Celle to Catholicism threatened for a time the harmony of the family, but the danger was soon removed by mediation and agreement. The house of Brunswick was strongly Protestant, and a leading aim of its policy was to secure the guarantees of Protestantism which were contained in the treaty of Westphalia. It was also particularistic, suspicious of Austria because of her intimate relations with Spain, and jealous of the "freedom" of the imperial estates. It shared fully in the spirit of opposition shown by the princes toward the electors, this being one reason for the jealousy of the Brunswick family toward Brandenburg. A policy growing out of such elements as these must seek its support in alliances

and leagues, manifold, temporary, rapidly changing. The history of these in their succession forms the staple of the volume before us. Brunswick first sought to confirm the Protestant guarantees, and its own position as a principality, through the League of Hildesheim, of which Sweden was a prominent member. But Sweden was trying to gain full possession of the city of Bremen, and to become its representative in the imperial diet. This offence against a German state forced Brunswick into alliance with the Great Elector. When Brandenburg soon after through Prussian complications became involved in war with Sweden, Brunswick sought protection in the *Rheinbund*, through which France was endeavoring to gain a controlling influence in German politics. But its Protestantism and its opposition to Sweden and to the Bishop of Münster brought the duchy into alliance with the Dutch Republic, and this soon developed into the fourfold alliance of the States General, Brunswick, Brandenburg and Denmark. The military operations in the Netherlands and the defence of Bremen helped to raise and train the army to which reference has been made. The *Rheinbund* collapsed, and when, toward 1670, Louis XIV began seriously to threaten the German and Protestant powers along the Rhine, Brunswick was ready to bear her part in their defence. With these renewed efforts to uphold the treaty of Westphalia the volume closes.

Lack of space prevents more than a passing reference to the volumes containing the lists of the names and places of residence of the students who matriculated in the University of Frankfurt on the Oder throughout its entire history.<sup>1</sup> It takes its place among similar publications of the kind, which will be of great use not only to the genealogist, but to students of social history.

Taking up the numbers bearing more on later Prussian history,<sup>2</sup> we find that Lehmann's *Prussia and the Catholic Church*

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Ernst Friedländer, *Aeltere Universitäts-Matrikeln*: 1. Universität Frankfurt a. O., von 1506 bis 1811. 3 vols. (Nos. xxxii, xxxvi, xlix of the series.)

<sup>2</sup> Max Lehmann, *Preussen und die Katholische Kirche seit 1640*. 5 vols. (Nos. i, x, xiii, xviii and xxiv of the series.)

Dr. Rudolph Stadelmann, *Preussens Könige in ihrer Thätigkeit für die Landes-*

contains the largest collection of documents in the series. They come very largely from the state archives at Berlin, and constitute a very full documentary history of the policy of Brandenburg-Prussia toward the religious confessions represented within its territories during the period between the accession of the Great Elector and the death of Frederick the Great. The material here presented, with the introductory chapters which sum up the development previous to 1740, shows that from the earliest times the Electors of Brandenburg were supreme in church, as well as in state. That facilitated for them the work of reformation. But when in course of time they obtained Prussia and Cleve-Mark, and when John Sigismund became a Calvinist, though the majority of his subjects remained Lutherans, the ecclesiastical problem became very complicated. Brandenburg was Lutheran, but tolerant; Prussia was strongly Lutheran and extremely intolerant; in Cleves and the other western possessions the Catholic, the Lutheran and the Reformed parties existed side by side with most complicated relations, made still more intricate by foreign interference and by the fact that the Catholic family of Pfalz-Neuburg was now joint ruler of these territories with the Hohenzollerns. Brandenburg-Prussia was at this time a loose aggregation of provinces, possessing scarcely the germ of state unity. Under such conditions a rigid state-church system like that of England could not be maintained. The largest possible toleration which was consistent with the maintenance of governmental control over the confessions must be granted. This was the policy adopted by the Great Elector and followed by his successors.

cultur. 4 vols., Frederick William I, Frederick II, Frederick William II, Frederick William III. (Nos. ii, xi, xxv and xxx of the series.)

Max Posner, Frederick II, *Histoire de Mon Temps* (Redaction von 1746). Part of one vol. (No. iv of the series.)

Reinhold Koser, *Unterhaltungen mit Friedrich dem Grossen. Memorien und Tagebücher von Heinrich de Catt.* 1 vol. (No. xxii of the series.)

Paul Baillen, *Preussen und Frankreich von 1795 bis 1807. Diplomatische Correspondenzen.* 2 vols. (Nos. viii and xxix of the series.)

Dr. Ritter v. Poschinger, *Preussen im Bundestag, 1851 bis 1859. Documente der k. Preuss. Bundestags-Gesandtschaft.* 4 vols. (Nos. xii, xiv, xv and xxiii of the series.)



The author compares his attitude toward the sects to that of Cromwell, both seeking the broadest practicable toleration. He also infers that the elector imbibed many of his ideas on this point during his early residence in the Netherlands. In Brandenburg he was able to grant the utmost freedom of worship for Catholics as well as Protestants. In Cleve-Mark he soon abandoned the specifications of the treaty of Westphalia and sought by special agreement with the palsgrave to secure peace on tolerable conditions for all parties (the Recess of 1672). In Prussia a similar result was obtained for the Catholics by a treaty with Poland. Arians, Socinians, Jews were freely admitted into the margraviate, while it was a general principle that the civil rights of none should be diminished because of their religion. The assumption of the crown by Frederick I strengthened the bond of union between the provinces, and thus made it easier to uphold the royal ecclesiastical supremacy. Documents showing the opposition of the papacy to this act are printed in this work, besides the correspondence of Vota and Wolff, two Jesuits who were deeply interested in the negotiations concerning the Prussian crown. During the reign of Frederick William I the acquisition of Guelders and Lingen added to the number of Catholics in the kingdom, while the conquest of Silesia by Frederick II increased them eightfold. This made the problem of government more difficult, but the adoption of eighteenth century philosophy by the young king insured the continuance of toleration, while his lofty ideas concerning the state prevented him from abandoning its rightful supremacy.

Corresponding in importance to the work just noticed are the four volumes of Stadelmann, which unfold the economic policy of the Prussian kings, from Frederick William I to Frederick William III. The materials for these also have been drawn from the archives at Berlin, and consist for the most part of the administrative orders and instructions of the kings themselves. In them may be seen the tireless activity especially of Frederick William I and Frederick the Great, and their almost herculean efforts to increase the resources of

their kingdom. It was destitute of natural advantages. Its population was sparse, and of its peasantry the larger part were serfs. But the kings possessed unlimited power and they used it to the full in the promotion and control of enterprises for the public good. No better instance of paternalism can be found in history, and it is difficult to see how without it Prussia could have survived the ordeal of the Seven Years' War. Her society was almost exclusively agricultural, and hence could bear this policy better than an industrial community.

Economically, as in most other respects, the central provinces of the electorate had to be resurrected after the close of the Thirty Years' War. The Great Elector led in this work, and here again set the example for later times. He issued ordinances for the building and repair of cottages, for the draining of land, for improvements in the care of land and of stock, for the promotion of tree and garden culture, for the regulation of the royal domains, for encouraging the immigration of Huguenots after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He sought to promote in all possible ways the prosperity of the country, that it might recover as soon as possible from its exhaustion and be able to bear the new burdens imposed upon it. But in the work of internal administration in this department the Great Elector was surpassed by Frederick William I. He in this respect was the greatest of the Prussian kings, his son simply following in his steps and building diligently on the foundations already laid. Stadelmann's work, like the studies of Schmoller, reveals the king colonizing Salzburgers and other exiles in the kingdom, so that during his reign from this source alone its population is supposed to have been increased by 600,000 ; bringing waste and submerged lands under cultivation ; reorganizing the administration of the domains by changing the form of lease and instituting the *General-Directorium* largely for this purpose ; improving the system of taxation ; changing serfdom into hereditary dependence ; building and repairing roads and making rivers navigable ; building magazines for the storing of agricultural products, improving seed, stock and agricultural implements, and promoting the cultivation

of various products ; introducing in the eastern provinces the German methods of agriculture, sending thither trained farmers and establishing model farms ; building churches and schools throughout the country and introducing compulsory school attendance ; establishing at the universities (Halle and Frankfort) two professorships, one of agricultural economy and the other of cameralistic science. It was upon East Prussia, lately visited by war and pestilence, that Frederick William expended his most systematic efforts, and there the best results of his work were revealed. But his hand was felt everywhere, in affairs the most minute as well as in large concerns. He could by a cabinet order instruct his subjects how to bind their grain, or what lambs they should kill, as well as encourage home industry by forbidding the exportation of wool and the importation of woollen manufactures. He was constantly watching his officials and investigating their conduct. He personally examined everything, and the numerous comments written by his own hand on the margins of reports show how searching was his scrutiny. It was the king's devotion to this work and the noble results which came from it, which aroused the admiration of the young Frederick, and in part led to the reconciliation between him and his father. As crown-prince Frederick was subjected to thorough training in the administration of the domains, and so was prepared to carry on the work with the greatest energy along the lines marked out by his father. Dr. Stadelmann has treated this side of the great king's career fully and in a very interesting manner. He has also carried his investigations through the next two reigns, describing the reforms of Stein and Hardenberg and the consequent change of the economic system of Prussia into its modern form.

In the *Histoire de Mon Temps* and the *Memoirs of de Catt* other sides of Frederick's character are brought into view. The version of his *History* here presented is that written immediately after the peace of Dresden and covering the first and second Silesian wars. It was carefully revised in 1775, when the *Memoirs* were issued in their final form. The editor

in his notes has compared the two versions and noted the changes which were introduced in the second. He has also collated the passages from the correspondence and other writings of Frederick in which statements were made concerning persons or events mentioned in the text, the purpose being to show whether the judgments of the writer changed in any degree with the lapse of time. In the present work Frederick always speaks of himself in the first person; in the revision of 1775 he adopted throughout, like Cæsar, the impersonal style. In many cases also his judgments are softened and broadened, and the production assumes a more dignified historical tone. But the version now first critically edited will be of equal value to the investigator, because it gives the author's first impressions, before the feelings aroused by the events had cooled.

When we open the *Memoirs of de Catt*, we turn from Frederick the historian, who was seeking by all means to hand down to posterity a correct account of his deeds, to Frederick seeking relaxation from the burdens of war in conversation, literary criticism, the writing of sonnets, and in discussions about the future state. When journeying on the Rhine in disguise in 1755, the king met Heinrich de Catt, a man of Swiss birth, who had studied the humanities at Utrecht, was a brilliant conversationist and well versed in the ways of the world. Three years later Frederick, then in the midst of the Seven Years' War, invited de Catt to take up his residence with him as *Vorleser*, i.e. a sort of private secretary. The offer was accepted, and de Catt remained with the king till 1780. But his duties were more social and literary than official in character. He was well acquainted with French literature, was something of a critic, and possessed almost unfailing tact, and it was for the relaxation which intercourse with him afforded that he was kept in camp and at court. De Catt was with the king almost daily during the weary campaigns of 1758 and 1759, and claims that in his *Tagebücher* (printed in Dr. Koser's volume) he set down brief notes of the conversations he had with Frederick as soon as possible after they occurred. In later years these

were expanded into the *Memoirs*, which, with the *Tagebücher*, are now for the first time published. The picture of the king presented in these is most attractive, and in its outlines is undoubtedly true. In these, the darkest years of his life, Frederick showed himself a hero in endurance, as well as in achievement. His large endowment of humor and the diversion which his cultivated literary taste furnished, combined with the consciousness that he was suffering in his people's cause, enabled him to look ruin in the face for three years without flinching. The *Memoirs* show clearly how it was done, though the editor has proved that in details they are very untrustworthy. De Catt has contrived throughout to give himself an undue prominence. He has padded his accounts of campaigns and battles with statements taken from military histories. He has probably brought together into his account rumors and incidents from a great variety of sources. It is impossible to suppose that he could reproduce the language of the king, as he claims to do throughout. Statements which are based on the *Tagebücher* of course have greater credibility than those which are not, and the editor in his notes refers to all the passages in which the two works agree.

The last work in the series to which reference will here be made — for Dr. Poschinger's *Preussen im Bundestag* is already too well known in this country to need description — is Baillen's *Preussen und Frankreich*. By the peace of Basel (1795) Prussia withdrew from the first coalition against France and adopted a policy of neutrality. Relying on the reputation her arms had won under Frederick the Great, she sought to mediate between the powers in the interest of peace. This could be done, with any prospect of success whatever, only by a state of the first rank, and Prussia by no means held such a position. The abandonment of Austria, which was occasioned by the traditional jealousy of the two states, resulted in the complete isolation of Prussia. Her influence throughout Europe was destroyed and she was forced to yield to one French demand after another. The record of this decline may be read in the documents here collected from the Prussian and

French archives and published. No sooner was the line of demarcation established under the treaty of Basel than it was crossed by the contending forces. Then Caillard was sent by the French to Berlin to negotiate a treaty of alliance, and Sandoz-Rollin was sent by Frederick William II to Paris to save, if possible, the provinces west of the Rhine. The dispatches of both these ambassadors are printed in this work and contain valuable accounts of the political development at the capitals where they were resident. Sandoz-Rollin was unsuccessful and the western provinces had to be abandoned ; Caillard concluded a treaty in 1796 in which the neutrality of northern Germany was recognized by France. This was in harmony with the views of Haugwitz, the Prussian minister. But the efforts of the French to secure a treaty of alliance were at this period doomed to failure. Caillard labored for it long and enthusiastically, but had to yield to Siéyès, who soon declared that Prussia must be removed beyond the Elbe and France seek her allies among the small German states. This was a correct foreshadowing of ultimate results, and the fact that Siéyès held the view so firmly totally unfitted him for the work of pacification at Berlin. But Talleyrand did not show this spirit and the French government could not yet afford to drive Prussia into the coalition. Therefore negotiations were somewhat aimlessly continued till the First Consul took them in hand. Their course may be followed in detail in the first of these volumes.

In October 1800 the Marquis Lucchesini was sent by the Berlin government to Paris, where he remained till the outbreak of war in 1806. His dispatches, with the replies and instructions which they elicited, occupy the larger part of the second volume. The occasion of Lucchesini's mission was the prospect of peace (Lünéville) and the reëstablishment of friendly relations between France and Russia and Austria. The ambassador was instructed to watch the development of internal affairs, as well as the whole field of foreign relations so far as they affected Prussia. He had frequent interviews with both Napoleon and Talleyrand, and his despatches contain important

information concerning the manner and views of both, as revealed during negotiation. He had to take up again the question of the compensation which Prussia should receive in return for the cession of the territory on the left bank of the Rhine. After urging one proposition after another and seeing them modified or rejected by France, he was finally forced to accept certain districts on the Ems in Westphalia, much smaller in extent and population than Prussia had been led to expect (May, 1802). During these negotiations Lucchesini saw and reported the contempt with which Napoleon regarded Prussia. Count Haugwitz, perceiving the character of the First Consul, began in a series of memorials printed in this volume to urge a more vigorous policy against him, though without abandoning the idea of neutrality.

The intentions of the French were revealed with startling clearness by the occupation of Hanover in 1803. The possibility of this had already been discussed, but the conclusion of the peace of Amiens had for a time removed the plan into the background. Haugwitz protested strongly against the measure and recommended the armed occupation of Hanover by Prussia; but this the king regarded as dangerous, and the French were allowed to enter the electorate without opposition. Soon afterward the plan of seizing Bremen and Hamburg and stopping English trade on the Weser and Elbe was revealed. Later Rumbold was seized. Thus the French advanced from one encroachment to another, showing how little regard they had for the Prussian system of neutrality. For a time, however, it was thought that only England would be involved in the war. That was the report which Lombard, the statesman who was supplanting Haugwitz in the king's confidence, brought back from Brussels, whither he was sent in 1803 to negotiate with Napoleon concerning Hanover. But as the months passed a breach with Austria and Russia became more and more certain. If it occurred, the maintenance of Prussian neutrality would become impossible. Hence mediation between Russia and France was tried, but in vain. It was only in October, 1805, after French troops had marched through Ans-

bach, neutral Prussian territory, that Frederick William began to adopt measures of defence. But then, so great seemed the necessity for peace that it was temporarily secured under the form of an alliance with France, concluded just after the battle of Austerlitz (treaty of Schönbrunn), which in its final form necessitated not only the cession of territory, but the closing of Prussian ports against England. Prussia considered herself fortunate to obtain in return possession of Hanover. But with the encroachments of Murat, the new Duke of Cleves, the alleged intention of Napoleon to restore Hanover to England, the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine, the massing of French troops in western Germany, it appeared that the troubles of Prussia had just begun. The system of neutrality had long since collapsed, the immediate prospect of war had now be faced. The documents at the close of the second volume relate to the alarm preceding the outbreak of hostilities, and to some events connected with the war itself and with the French occupation till the peace of Tilsit.

Even so cursory a review of the *Publications from the Prussian Archives* as it has been possible to give in these pages reveals the great importance of the series. Though the work of preparing and issuing it has been in progress less than twenty years, it has already reached dimensions which entitle it to a place among the great series of *Quellen* published by the learned societies and institutions of Europe. In a great scientific field it is a monument of systematic and well directed effort properly supported by the state. It shows that Prussia is as careful to hand down to posterity a correct account of its history as was Frederick II, the greatest of her founders, when he wrote his memoirs and subjected them to minute and frequent revision. The volumes already issued relate to the most important periods of the country's history, and the wealth of their contents betokens a rich harvest still to come.

HERBERT L. OSGOOD.